

Message Text

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PAGE 01 GENEVA 06030 01 OF 03 201245Z
ACTION SS-25

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TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 9426
INFO USMISSION USUN NEW YORK
AMEMBASSY CAIRO

LIMITED OFFICIAL USE SECTION 1 OF 3 GENEVA 6030

EXDIS

FROM AMBASSADOR VANDEN HEUVEL FOR THE FOLLOWING ADDRESSEES
ONLY: SECRETARY VANCE; LABOR SECRETARY MARSHALL;
COMMERCE SECRETARY KREPES; USUN FOR AMB YOUNG; IO
ASST SECRETARY MAYNES; L FOR HANSELL; IO DEP ASST
SECRETARY DALLEY; LABOR FOR HOROWITZ; STATE FOR GOOD;
NAS FOR BRZEZINSKI; WHITE HOUSE FOR JORDAN, WATSON AND
EISENSTAT

CAIRO FOR ASST SECRETARY MAYNES ONLY

E.O. 11652: N/A
TAGS: ILO

SUBJ: ILO: MISSION RECOMMENDATION REGARDING QUESTION OF
WITHDRAWAL

SUMMARY: I SUBMIT HEREWITHA PROPOSAL FOR THE CABINET-
LEVEL COMMITTEE ON THE ILO WHICH WOULD ENABLE THE
PRESIDENT TO SUSPEND THE NOVEMBER 1977 DEADLINE OF THE
1975 LETTER OF INTENT WITHOUT WITHDRAWING IT. THIS
COULD BE DONE IN ACCORDANCE WITH THE ILO CONSTITUTION.
THE PROPOSAL ENVISIONS USING THIS AS LEVERAGE IN
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CREATIVE CONSULTATIONS WITH THE EEC-9 AND IMEC COUNTRIES
AIMED TOWARD SERIOUS COMMITMENT FROM IMEC LEADERSHIP
TO JOIN US IN REDIRECTING THE ILO SO THAT THE 1978
CONFERENCE ESSENTIALLY ACHIEVES THE LEGITIMATE PURPOSES
OF OUR WITHDRAWAL NOTICE. IF IMEC LEADERSHIP MAKES
SUCH A COMMITMENT, IF THE SECRETARY-GENERAL INTERPRETS
THE ILO CHARTER AS I SUGGEST, AND IF THE GOVERNING

BODY AND THE 1978 ILO CONFERENCE SUCCEED IN ATTAINING OUR OBJECTIVES, THEN THE PRESIDENT CAN WITHDRAW THE 1975 LETTER OF INTENT AND THE US CAN PURSUE ITS LEADERSHIP ROLE IN HELPING THE ILO TO MEET ITS CHARTER PURPOSES. IF THIS PROPOSAL IS CONSIDERED MERITORIOUS, I URGE THAT REQUESTED CONSULTATIONS WITH THE EEC-9 AND IMEC COUNTRIES BE DELAYED UNTIL INTERNAL US GOVERNMENT AGREEMENT IS REACHED AS TO APPROPRIATE STRATEGY AND DEFINITION OF OBJECTIVES. IN THESE CIRCUMSTANCES, I SUGGEST THAT MAYNES JULY 26-27 VISIT BE CONFINED TO PRELIMINARY EXPLORATORY DISCUSSIONS WITH GENEVA REPRESENTATIVES AND ILO SECRETARIAT. END SUMMARY.

1. I HOPE AND BELIEVE THAT THE OPINION OF THIS MISSION WILL BE IMPORTANT AND USEFUL IN THE DECISION-MAKING PROCESS REGARDING US MEMBERSHIP IN THE ILO.

2. MY FIRST DAYS IN GENEVA HVE BEEN SPENT IN INTENSE DISCUSSIONS WITH THE MISSION STAFF, FOREIGN AMBASSADORIAL COLLEAGUES, ILO OFFICIALS, AND EXPERIENCED PARTICIPANTS IN MULTINATIONAL DIPLOMACY. THIS REVIEW HAS INCLUDED EXTENSIVE READING OF HISTORY ABOUT THE ILO-US RELATIONSHIP.

3. I BELIEVE THE DEMARCHE DELIVERED BY THE EEC-9 GIVES THE US AN ADDITIONAL OPTION IN DEALING WITH THE TANGLED LIMITED OFFICIAL USE

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WEB OF THE NOVEMBER 1975 LETTER. THE PROPOSAL TO TAKE UP THAT OPTION WHICH WE MAKE IN THIS MESSAGE ASSUMES THAT PRESIDENT CARTER WOULD LIKE THE US TO REMAIN IN THE ILO, BUT THAT HE ALSO SHARES LABOR'S REAL CONCERN ABOUT THE DIRECTIONS OF THE ILO. ITS PURPOSE IS TO SUSPEND THE LETTER OF INTENT, GAIN TIME FOR REFORM OF ILO, AND AT THE SAME TIME RESERVE THE OPTION OF WITHDRAWAL WITHOUT REQUIRING THE TOLLING OF ANOTHER TWO YEAR WAITING PERIOD. BEFORE PRESENTING THIS PROPOSAL, LET ME EXPRESS SOME CONSIDERED OPINIONS AND JUDGEMENTS OF THIS MISSION.

4. IMPORTANT SECTORS OF THE UNITED NATIONS COMMUNITY IN GENEVA ARE ANXIOUS, BEWILDERED AND CONCERNED BY THE IMPENDING DECISION OF THE US REGARDING THE ILO. THE POINTS OF THE 1975 LETTER ARE RELEVANT AND LEGITIMATE BUT DEMANDS FOR ACTION WERE SET IN A TIME FRAME WHICH MADE THEIR ATTAINMENT DIFFICULT.

5. ONLY EIGHT YEARS AGO THE ILO RECEIVED THE NOBEL PRIZE FOR PEACE. IN THAT SAME YEAR, 1969, POPE PAUL MADE AN UNPRECEDENTED VISIT TO GENEVA BECAUSE IN HIS WORDS,

"HERE (AT THE INTERNATIONAL LABOR ORGANIZATION) -- AND THIS IS A DECISIVE EVENT IN THE HISTORY OF CIVILIZATION -- HERE THE LABOR OF MAN IS TREATED AS A MATTER OF BASIC CONCERN." THE UNITED STATES IS NOWW PREPARING TO LEAVE THIS ORGANIZATION. IF IT DOES, MAJOR SPOKESMEN FOR AMERICAN LABOR BOTH IN THE GOVERNMENT AND IN THE TRADE UNION MOVEMENT EXPECT THE ILO TO COLLAPSE. MANY OBSERVERS HERE FEAR SUCH A COLLAPSE. THAT IS NOT A CONSEQUENCE THAT THE NATIONS OF THE WORLD WILL ACCEPT WITH INDIFFERENCE. WE MUST ASK OURSELVES WHETHER THE COLLAPSE OF ILO WOULD HAVE A RIPPLING IMPACT OF DRAMATIC AND HARMFUL PROPORTIONS IN US MULTINATIONAL RELATIONSHIPS. SUCH A PRECEDENT COULD LEAD CONGRESS TO FORCE THE PRESIDENT TO WITHDRAW FROM OTHER LIMITED OFFICIAL USE

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SPECIALIZED AGENCIES; IT COULD STIMULATE WITHDRAWALS BY OTHER STATES; EVEN THE UNIVERSALITY OF THE UNITED NATIONS ITSELF COULD BE ENDANGERED.

6. THE THREAT OF AMERICAN WITHDRAWAL FROM THE ILO IS NOT NEW. IT IS APPROPRIATE TO RECALL THAT THE AMERICAN EMPLOYER REPRESENTATIVES, NAM-CHAMBER OF COMMERCE, CALLED FOR AMERICAN WITHDRAWAL FROM ILO DURING THE EISENHOWER ADMINISTRATION. IN THE GOVERNMENT AND IN THE CONGRESS MANY OF THE SAME ARGUMENTS WERE MADE THEN THAT ARE BEING HEARD NOW. IT IS INSTRUCTIVE TO RECALL HOW EISENHOWER WITHSTOOD THE PRESSURES OF A CONSTITUENCY GROUP THAT CONSIDERED HIM COMMITTED TO THEIR INTERESTS.

7. TO MEET THE GROWING PRESSURE, LED BY SENATOR BRICKER, PRESIDENT EISENHOWER IN 1956 ASKED JOSEPH JOHNSON, PRESIDENT OF THE CARNEGIE ENDOWMENT FOR INTERNATIONAL PEACE, AND FOUR OTHER DISTINGUISHED AMERICANS, TO STUDY THE QUESTION OF US PARTICIPATION IN THE ILO. THE JOHNSON REPORT, RELEASED IN JANUARY 1957, BEGAN BY ACKNOWLEDGING THE DRAMATIC CHANGES THAT WERE HAPPENING IN THE INTERNATIONAL COMMUNITY THROUGH THE EMERGENCE OF NEW NATIONS AND THE CONTINUING ADVANCE FOR SELF-GOVERNMENT OF MANY PEOPLES NOT YET INDEPENDENT. IT LOOKED AT THE ILO IN THE CONTEXT OF OUR COMMITMENT TO THE UN. ITS COMMENTS ON THIS POINT ARE RELEVANT TODAY AND DESERVE REPETITION TO THOSE IN WASHINGTON CONCERNED WITH THE DECISION.

8. "ONE MAY HAVE A FAVORABLE OR AN UNFAVORABLE OPINION OF THE UN OR OF ANY OF THE SPECIALIZED AGENCIES ASSOCIATED WITH IT IN THE COMPLEX GENERALLY REFERRED TO AS THE UN

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LIMITED OFFICIAL USE SECTION 2 OF 3 GENEVA 6030

EXDIS

FROM AMBASSADOR CANDEN HEUVEL FOR THE FOLLOWING ADDRESSEES
ONLY: SECRETARY VANCE; LABOR SECRETARY MARSHALL;
COMMERCE SECRETARY KREPES; USUN FOR AMB YOUNG; IO
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NAS FOR BRZEZINSKI; WHITE HOUSE FOR JORDAN, WATSON AND
EISENSTAT

CAIRO FOR ASST SECRETARY MAYNES ONLY

SYSTEM. BLANKET APPROVAL OR DISAPPROVAL IS ESSENTIALLY
IRRELEVANT. THE ORGANIZATIONS EXIST; THEY MUST BE
RECKONED WITH. THIS WOULD BE TRUE WHETHER THE
US WAS A MEMBER OF ANY OR ALL OF THEM, OR NOT, FOR
MUCH OF THE MODERN WORLD'S INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS ARE
CONDUCTED IN AND THROUGH THEM. IN THIS CONNECTION IT
IS SUGGESTIVE THAT THE USSR, WHICH FOR SEVERAL YEARS
REMAINED OUT OF THE SPECIALIZED AGENCIES, HAS RECENTLY
JOINED SEVERAL, NOTABLY ILO, UNESCO, AND THE WORLD
HEALTH ORGANIZATION; THE MEN IN THE KREMLIN EVIDENTLY
DECIDED THESE BODIES WERE TOO IMPORTANT TO IGNORE.
IF THE US WERE TO WITHDRAW FROM ANY ONE OF THEM, IT
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TOO MIGHT WELL FIND ITS CONDUCT OF ITS FOREIGN POLICY
HAMPERED BY ITS SELF-EXCLUSION THE COMMITTEE

BELIEVES THERE ARE MANY REASONS WHY THE US SHOULD REMAIN A MEMBER OF THE ILO. (THE 46 PAGE REPORT DISCUSSES THEM IN DEPTH.) BUT AT THIS POINT WE WISH TO CALL ATTENTION TO SOME OF THE CONSEQUENCES OF PARTICIPATION IN ANY INTERNATIONAL ORGANIZATION, FOR THESE TOO ARE AMONG THE REALITIES OF THE MODERN WORLD.

9. "MEMBERSHIP OF A NATION IN AN ORGANIZATION, LIKE MEMBERSHIP OF AN INDIVIDUAL IN A FREE SOCIETY, ENTAILS CERTAIN RESPONSIBILITIES, EVEN CERTAIN RESTRICTIONS ON THE INDIVIDUAL MEMBER. TO BE A SUCCESSFUL MEMBER, AND ESPECIALLY TO BE A SUCCESSFUL LEADER, REQUIRES AN AWARENESS OF LIMITATIONS AND AN ATTITUDE OF UNDERSTANDING OF THE WISHES OF OTHERS; IT CALLS FOR EXERCISE OF THE ARTS OF THE STATESMAN, EVEN OF THE POLITICIAN. THIS MEANS, AMONG OTHER THINGS, A RECOGNITION THAT ONE CAN NOT HAVE HIS WAY AT ALL TIMES, THAT TO PURSUE ONE'S GOALS WITH A REASONABLE PROSPECT OF SUCCESS IT IS ESSENTIAL TO WIN THE SUPPORT OF OTHERS, THAT THIS WILL ALMOST CERTAINLY CALL FOR COMPROMISE, FOR A WILLINGNESS TO YIELD ON MINOR POINTS IN ORDER TO GAIN MAJOR ONES.

10. THE JOHNSON COMMITTEE REMINDED THE COUNTRY THAT THE US HAD PLAYED A MAJOR ROLE IN CREATING THE UN AND EACH OF ITS SPECIALIZED AGENCIES. IT ASSERTED THAT THIS COMMITMENT WAS A BIPARTISAN ONE AND SUPPORTED THAT ASSERTION BY QUOTING PRESIDENT EISENHOWER IN SAYING "...AS I REVIEW THE MARCH OF WORLD EVENTS IN RECENT YEARS I AM DEEPLY CONVINCED THAT THE UN REPRESENTS THE SOUNDEST HOPE FOR PEACE IN THE WORLD." THE JOHNSON REPORT ACCEPTED THE FACT THAT THE ROLE LIMITED OFFICIAL USE

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OF THE ILO HAD CHANGED SIGNIFICANTLY. ESTABLISHED IN 1919 PRIMARILY TO IMPROVE THE CONDITIONS OF LABOR IN PREDOMINANTLY INDUSTRIAL SOCIETIES IT POINTED OUT THAT THE ILO EMPHASIS HAS NOW SHIFTED TO ASSISTANCE TO THE PEOPLES OF UNDER-DEVELOPED COUNTRIES TO ATTAIN THE BASIC NEEDS FOR DIGNIFIED HUMAN LIFE. THE COMMITTEE DID NOT PRETEND THAT THE ILO HAS ANY GREAT IMPORTANCE TO THE AMERICAN DOMESTIC SCENE. IT ACCEPTED WITHOUT OVER-ESTIMATION THAT BY NARROWING THE DIFFERENTIAL IN LABOR STANDARDS, THE ILO'S WORK IMPROVED THE COMPETITIVE POSITION OF AMERICAN INDUSTRY AND SERVED THE INTERESTS OF AMERICAN LABOR. INTERESTINGLY, THE JOHNSON COMMITTEE ACCEPTED THE POLITICAL POSSIBILITIES OF THE ILO AS A MAJOR VALUE TO THE US. IT CONCLUDED BY SAYING: "THE COMMITTEE DOES NOT HESITATE TO EXPRESS ITS CONVICTION THAT THE US PARTICIPATION IN THE ILO COULD BE WORTH MUCH MORE TO THE NATION THAN

THE MONEY WE NOW PUT INTO ITO ARE LIKELY TO PUT INTO IT IN THE FORESEEABLE FUTURE. IF WE WERE TO WITHDRAW OR TO PARTICIPATE HALF-HEARTEDLY OR GRUDGINGLY THE DAMAGE TO AMERICAN INTERESTS IN THE MAJOR SENSE, PARTICULARLY TO AMERICAN PRESTIGE AMONG THE GOVERNMENTS AND LEADERS OF ASIA AND AFRICA, WOULD BE SEVERE. TO GET FULL VALUE OUT OF THE ILO AND OUR PARTICIPATION IN IT, THE US MUST PUT MORE MONEY INTO IT ...(BUT) THE FIRST THING THAT MUST BE PUT IN IS THE CONVICTION OF THE UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT THAT THE ILO IS IMPORTANT."

1. THE TEN SPECIFIC RECOMMENDATIONS OF THE JOHNSON COMMITTEE TO MAKE US PARTICIPATION IN THE ILO MORE EFFECTIVE HAVE BEEN LOST AND ESSENTIALLY IGNORED IN THE TWENTY YEARS SINCE ITS REPORT. THE COMPTROLLER GENERAL OF THE US IN HIS REPORT DATED MAY 16, 1977 (THE NEED FOR U.S. OBJECTIVES IN THE ILO) CONFIRMS THAT CONCLUSION: "OUR REVIEW SHOWED THAT LIMITED OFFICIAL USE

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PAST U.S. PARTICIPATION IN ILO WAS ONE OF CRISIS MANAGEMENT ALTERNATED WITH PERIODS OF NEGLECT. AS EACH CRISIS WITH ILO SUBSIDIES, U.S. ATTENTION ALSO SUBSIDIES."

12. IN MY CONVERSATION WITH LANE KIRKLAND AND OTHER EXPERIENCED PARTICIPANTS IN THE ILO STRUGGLE, THEY MAKE THE POWERFUL AND VALID POINT THAT THE FAILURE OF THE 1977 CONFERENCE TO ACCEPT THE REPORT OF THE COMMITTEE ON THE APPLICATION OF CONVENTIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS PLACES IN QUESTION A PRINCIPAL REASON FOR ILO'S EXISTENCE. THEY ARGUE THAT IF CERTAIN COUNTRIES ARE TO BE SHELTERED FROM CRITICISM, IF THE COMPLIANCE MACHINERY OF THE ILO IS TO BE NULLIFIED FOR POLITICAL REASONS, THEN THE US SHOULD NOT SUPPORT ILO'S CONTINUED EXISTENCE. THEY ARE RIGHT, AND WE AGREE. IMPORTANT FOREIGN AMBASSADORS ALSO AGREE WITH THEM BUT THESE AMBASSADORS ALSO BELIEVE THAT A CLEAR MAJORITY OF THE ILO MEMBERSHIP SHARES THE CONVICTION THAT THE TRADITION OF THE CONFERENCE ACCEPTING COMMITTEE REPORTS MUST BE RESTORED AND MAINTAINED. THEY ARE CONFIDENT THAT, GIVEN MORE TIME SKILLFUL PLANNING AND DIPLOMATIC ACTION CAN BRING THE CONFERENCE TO DISCHARGE THIS BASIC RESPONSIBILITY.

13. THE PRESIDENT HAS A LITTLE MORE THAN THREE MONTHS TO DEAL WITH THE KISSINGER LETTER OF INTENT TO WITHDRAW. HE CAN LET THE LETTER TAKE EFFECT "MORE IN SORROW THAN IN ANGER." HE CAN WITHDRAW THE LETTER, ARGUING THAT

THIS NEW ADMINISTRATION NEEDS TIME TO EVALUATE THE
WORK OF THE UN AND ITS SPECIALIZED AGENCIES, THAT THE
US IS COMMITTED TO THEIR PURPOSES, AND THAT WE WILL
PARTICIPATE ACTIVELY AND PURPOSEFULLY BEFORE
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TAKING THE DRASTIC STEP OF RESIGNATION. THIS COURSE
OF ACTION MIGHT ANTER THE AFL-CIO LEADERSHIP (NOT TO
MENTION THE CHAMBER OF COMMERCE). BOTH THE LABOR
AND EMPLOYER REPRESENTATIVES MIGHT REFUSE TO PARTICIPATE

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LIMITED OFFICIAL USE SECTION 3 OF 3 GENEVA 6030

EXDIS

FROM AMBASSADOR VANDEN HEUVEL FOR THE FOLLOWING ADDRESSEES
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CAIRO FOR ASST SECRETARY MAYNES ONLY

IN THE ILO CONFERENCE, MAKING IT DIFFICULT
FOR THE US GOVERNMENT TO PARTICIPATE. CONGRESS WOULD
PROBABLY REFUSE TO APPROPRIATE ANY FUNDS FOR

ILO ASSESSMENTS. OUR EFFORT TO REFORM ILO MIGHT BE ABORTED BECAUSE THE U.S. COULD NO LONGER THREATEN WITHDRAWAL, AND OUR ENEMIES WOULD PERCEIVE US AND THE NON-ALIGNED MIGHT PERCEIVE US AS A "PAPER TIGER."

14. I SUGGEST ANOTHER COURSE OF ACTION, BEGINNING WITH THE ACCEPTANCE OF THE REQUEST FROM THE EEC-9 AND THE IMEC COUNTRIES THAT WE CONSULT WITH THEM. WE SHOULD USE THOSE CONSULTATIONS TO EXTRACT A COMMITMENT LIMITED OFFICIAL USE

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FROM THE IMEC COUNTRIES -- OR AT LEAST THE PRINCIPAL INDUSTRIALIZED DEMOCRACIES -- THAT THEY WILL UNDERTAKE A MAXIMUM EFFORT TO ACHIEVE THE OBJECTIVES LAID DOWN IN OUR LETTER OF INTENT, AND IN THE LEAST TO ACHIEVE (1) ACCEPTANCE BY THE ILO CONFERENCE OF REPORTS OF THE COMMITTEE ON APPLICATION OF CONVENTIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS AND (2) INSTITUTION OF CONFERENCE PROCEDURES THAT THAT WILL PREVENT FURTHER POLITICAL RESOLUTIONS CONDEMNING NATIONS WITHOUT DUE PROCESS.

15. IF SUCH A COMMITMENT FROM THE IMEC COUNTRIES (OR EVEN THE EEC-9) WERE GIVEN IN THESE CONSULTATIONS THEN THE U.S. WOULD HAVE REASON TO SUSPEND ITS NOTICE OF INTENTION TO WITHDRAW. BUT CAN THE NOVEMBER 1975 LETTER BE SUSPENDED WITHOUT IN FACT WITHDRAWING IT. I SUGGEST THAT ARTICLE 5 OF THE ILO CONSTITUTION CAN BE INTERPRETED IN SUCH A WAY AS TO GIVE US THAT FLEXIBILITY. ARTICLE 5 STATES:

16. "NO MEMBER OF THE INTERNATIONAL LABOUR ORGANIZATION MAY WITHDRAW FROM THE ORGANIZATION WITHOUT GIVING NOTICE OF ITS INTENTION SO TO DO TO THE DIRECTOR-GENERAL OF THE INTERNATIONAL LABOUR OFFICE. SUCH NOTICE SHALL TAKE EFFECT TWO YEARS AFTER THE DATE OF ITS RECEPTION BY THE DIRECTOR-GENERAL, SUBJECT TO THE MEMBER HAVING AT THAT TIME FULFILLED ALL FINANCIAL OBLIGATIONS ARISING OUT OF ITS MEMBERSHIP..."

17. IF THE U.S. SUSPENDS ITS PAYMENTS TO THE ILO BEFORE ALL FINANCIAL OBLIGATIONS WILL HAVE BEEN FULFILLED (TAKING INTO ACCOUNT ITS CREDIT IN THE WORKING CAPITAL FUND), THE DIRECTOR-GENERAL PRESUMABLY WOULD RULE THAT LIMITED OFFICIAL USE

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"ALL FINANCIAL OBLIGATIONS ARISING OUT OF ITS MEMBERSHIP" HAVE NOT YET BEEN MET AND THEREFORE THE WITHDRAWAL HAS NOT TAKEN EFFECT. THE U.S. COULD THEN WORK WITH THE IMEC COUNTRIES AND WITH THE GROUP 77 COUNTRIES TO PROMOTE ITS LEGITIMATE SUBSTANTIVE OBJECTIVES. IF THIS DIPLOMATIC OFFENSIVE IS SUCCESSFUL, WE COULD THEN WITHDRAW THE NOTICE OF INTENTION AND RESUME FULL AND ACTIVE MEMBERSHIP. ON THE OTHER HAND, IF THE ILO CONFERENCE CONTINUES WHOLLY TO REJECT THE BASIC AGENDA THAT WE HAVE AGREED UPON WITH THE EEC-IMEC COUNTRIES, THEN WE CAN PAY THE REMAINING FINANCIAL OBLIGATION AND COMPLETE THE PROCESS OF WITHDRAWAL FROM THE ILO. OBVIOUSLY, SUCH A STRATEGY WOULD REQUIRE A CAREFUL SCENARIO. IT WOULD REQUIRE CREATIVE AND SUCCESSFUL CONSULTATIONS WITH THE EEC-IMEC COUNTRIES RESULTING IN A COMMITMENT BY THOSE COUNTRIES TO SOMETHING APPROACHING THE PROPOSED AGENDA DESCRIBED ABOVE; IT WOULD REQUIRE AN UNDERSTANDING WITH THE SECRETARY GENERAL OF ILO, SUPPORTED BY AN OPINION FROM THE ILO LEGAL ADVISER, THAT THE NOTICE OF INTENTION IS SUSPENDED BECAUSE OF OUTSTANDING FINANCIAL OBLIGATIONS, LEAVING A COURSE OF ACTION THAT WOULD PERMIT THE U.S. EITHER TO COMPLETE ITS WITHDRAWAL OR TO MAINTAIN ITS MEMBERSHIP. THE PLAN WOULD ALLOW THE PRESIDENT TO KEEP MAXIMUM OPTIONS WITHOUT REFERRING THE QUESTION AT THIS TIME TO THE CONGRESS. IT WOULD TAKE INTO ACCOUNT THE PROBABILITY THAT NEITHER THE AFL-CIO NOR THE CHAMBER OF COMMERCE WOULD AGREE TO PARTICIPATE IN THE NEXT ILO CONFERENCE. BUT BY WORKING WITH BOTH LABOR AND EMPLOYER GROUPS INTENSIVELY DURING THE CONSULTATIVE PERIOD AND WITH THE EEC-IMEC COUNTRIES, WE MIGHT BE ABLE TO WIN LABOR-EMPLOYER APPROVAL FOR MAINTENANCE OF MEMBERSHIP IF IN FACT THE COMMITMENT OF THE EEC-IMEC COUNTRIES HAS BEEN DELIVERED SUCCESSFULLY AT THE 1978 ILO CONFERENCE.

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18. CLEARLY, THE CONGRESS AS WELL AS AFL-CIO LEADERSHIP AND CHAMBER OF COMMERCE REPRESENTATIVES WOULD HAVE TO BE INFORMED AND INVOLVED. THE CONGRESS HAS AN ANNUAL INVOLVEMENT THROUGH THE APPROPRIATION PROCESS. (IF THE U.S. WITHDRAWS FROM THE ILO, IT WILL ONLY BE ABLE TO RETURN AS A FULL MEMBER IF THE CONGRESS BY JOINT RESOLUTION APPROVES SUCH ACTION.)

19. THE SUGGESTED STRATEGY HAS THE BENEFIT OF MAKING OUR LEGITIMATE SUBSTANTIVE CONCERNS ABOUT ILO THE RESPONSIBILITY OF THE IMEC COUNTRIES AS WELL AS THE

U.S. IT IS POSSIBLE, PERHAPS PROBABLE, THAT THESE
SUBSTANTIVE OBJECTIVES CAN BE ESSENTIALLY REACHED. TO
ACHIEVE THESE OBJECTIVES THE U.S. SHOULD AGREE TO
SERIOUS STUDY OF CHANGES IN THE ILO STRUCTURE WHICH
WOULD ENABLE THE DEVELOPING COUNTRIES TO HAVE A
FULLER PARTICIPATION IN ILO AFFAIRS. IF THE U.S. AGREES
TO MAINTAIN MEMBERSHIP BY WITHDRAWING THE SUSPENDED
NOTICE OF INTENTION, IT WOULD HAVE TO PAY ITS FULL
ASSESSMENT FOR THE INTERVENING PERIOD. BUT IF THE
DECISION TO REMAIN IS BASED UPON THE AFFIRMATIVE
REFORM OF ILO, PRESUMABLY THE CONGRESS WOULD BE PREPARED
TO DISCHARGE OUR FINANCIAL OBLIGATIONS, ESPECIALLY
IF THE AFL-CIO IS A PARTY TO THE GOVERNMENT'S
DECISION.

20. I AM HOPEFUL THAT WE CAN STRUCTURE AN EFFORT THAT
COULD ACHIEVE MUCH OF THE LEGITIMATE INTENT OF THE
NOVEMBER 1975 LETTER, THEREBY PRESERVING AND
CAPITALIZING THE INVALUABLE SERVICES RENDERED BY
DANIEL HOROWITZ AND OTHERS DURING THIS DIFFICULT
PERIOD. THE PROPOSAL WE HEREWITH SUBMIT IS THE
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BEGINNING OF THAT EFFORT.VANDEN HEUVEL

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Message Attributes

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Decaption Date: 22 May 2009
Decaption Note: 25 YEAR REVIEW
Disposition Action: RELEASED
Disposition Approved on Date:
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Disposition Comment: 25 YEAR REVIEW
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To: STATE
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